

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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101 they otherwise use for the Krikati. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krikati. Literally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

619 [174] A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as gwiwa. Fróes Abreu spells it "Awá," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

101 114 The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SEVERAL TIMBIRA TRIBES

1. The Timbira of Araparytúa

619 175 167 721 The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim," to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré. But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile. But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna município. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period. Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

[161] [361] In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Boa Vista, part of the Timbira

* Nimuendajá, *The Apinayé*, 169.

* Ribeiro, *Memória*, § 25.

* Itinerário, 113, 114.

* Nimuendajá, *The Gamella Indians*, 11.

14 *University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.*

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accompanied them, founding near by the aldeia of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Kariñê's band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajara, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manuel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldeia of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Boa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytina.

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During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered the group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembê had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembê of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupi dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro Cumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my *Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará*.

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Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term *ku' uxj'd* corresponds to the *Ramkô'kamekra kôkrj't*.² It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

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At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembê station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

2-3. *The Krëyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra*

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These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"³—people, he declares, who are called "Guajajaras."

² It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

³ Ribeiro, *Memória*, § 57; *Boletim*, 36.

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pukóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krikatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Pio-cobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldeia on the Morro do Chapéu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pukóbye have dwindled to very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pukóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krikatí refugees.

In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeias of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapéu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krikatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kôty'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pukóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pukóbye words in Barra do Corda; five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. The Western Gaviões

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Somewhat below the Araguaia confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

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The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real² in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.³ Ribeiro mentions them in 1819, Castelnau in 1844.⁴ In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaca.⁵ This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the first time figure in their place.⁶ At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

² Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 187 f.

³ Villa Real, *Viagem*, 425 f., 432.

⁴ Marques, *Apointamentos*, "Tocantina."

⁵ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, Nota 51. Castelnau, *Histoire*, 2:117.

⁶ J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, *Itinerario*, 25.

⁷ Ferreira Gomes, *Itinerario*, 496.

619 but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.²² Because
101 the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.²³

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čą'kamekra, from čare (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrän," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorä" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Ramkō'kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukürkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

619 In Ribeiro's day the Čą'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged
175 the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the
648 Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiécra, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

619 The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercearas-Itapicuré confluence
175 played a great part in the conflicts with both Čą'kamekra and Ramkō'kamekra.
721 Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.²⁴

619 The Čą'kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is
175 still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living
167 scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10' and 5° 20', as well as near Picos on the Itapicuré. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Ramkō'kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čą'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

[173] At all events the remnants of the Čą'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

²² Martius, *Beiträge*, 1:283.

²³ Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, *Itinerario*, 421.

²⁴ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 36; *Roteiro*, 64, Nota 27. Marques, *Apontamentos*, 16, 27.

119 sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought
175 and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Ramkô'kamekra, fusing
• 167 with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements
[197] their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Ramkô'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

119 Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack
101 of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references
114 to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were
almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karêkateye.—Their name is derived from karê (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Canaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.¹⁰⁰ In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcântara with Krahô' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahô' as victims of the Canacategé.¹⁰¹

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pq'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).¹⁰² In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussara! on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajara.

119 These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pq'mkateye,
174 but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karêkateye of Ramkô'kamekra
114 tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken
into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhã'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karêkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karêkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

119 *The Krô'rekamekra*.—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Ramkô'-
101 kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been
131 a great singer. In the tamhã'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães¹⁰³ lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcântara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10'; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahô'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martins¹⁰⁴ and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorêcamecrans.

Krôre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

¹⁰⁰ Ribeiro, *Memória*, §§ 70, 83; *Notário*, 46.

¹⁰¹ Almeida, *Carolina*, 52.

¹⁰² Marques, *Apostamentos*, "Índios."

¹⁰³ Almeida, *Carolina*, 55.

¹⁰⁴ Martins, *Beiträge*, 2:284. Cazal, *Chorographia*, 2:293. Pohl, *Reise*, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cã'kamedra --- Analyst.]